

## Message Text

SECRET POSS DUPE

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02

INR-07 IO-10 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03

PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00

NSC-05 BIB-01 ERDE-00 NRC-05 /094 W  
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P R 051450Z JUN 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1021

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0257

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: GUIDANCE CONCERNING EXCHANGE OF DATA ON ARMAMENTS

REF: STATE 103599

### SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATION

1. WE NOTE VIEW OF WASHINGTON AGENCIES (PARA D, REFTEL)  
THAT THEY SEE LITTLE NEED AT THIS TIME TO CONSIDER GUIDANCE  
ON EXCHANGE OF ARMAMENT DATA WITH THE EAST AND DO NOT WISH  
TO ENGAGE IN SUCH EXCHANGE.

2. THE DELEGATION ALSO DOES NOT SEEK AN EXCHANGE OF DATA  
ON ARMAMENTS. BUT, IN ORDER TO BE IN A POSITION TO  
CONTINUE EFFECTIVELY WESTERN EFFORTS TO ENGAGE THE WARSAW

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PACT IN AN EXCHANGE OF DATA, WE BELIEVE THE AD HOC GROUP  
SHOULD HAVE AUTHORITY TO TELL THE EAST, IN THE IN-

CREASINGLY LIKELY EVENT THAT THE EAST TAKES THE INITIATIVE TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF A GENERAL EXCHANGE OF DATA ON ARMAMENTS, THAT: (A) IF THE EAST IS PREPARED TO TAKE THE LEAD IN TABLING DATA ON TOTALS FOR MAJOR PACT ARMAMENTS IN THE AREA, THE WEST WOULD BE WILLING TO TABLE ITS TOTALS FOR NATO ARMAMENTS OF THE SAME TYPE; (B) IN ANY EVENT, DATA EXCHANGE SHOULD BEGIN WITH RECIPROCAL EASTERN TABLING OF EASTERN FIGURES FOR THE TOTALS ALREADY TABLED BY THE ALLIES; (C) ALL DATA EXCHANGE WOULD TAKE PLACE ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IT WOULD BE WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE REDUCTION POSITION OF EITHER SIDE. END SUMMARY.

#### BACKGROUND

3. THE ISSUE OF DATA EXCHANGE IS ONE AREA WHERE NATO NOW HAS A CLEAR ADVANTAGE. EASTERN REFUSAL THUS FAR TO AGREE TO IT HAS THROWN DOUBT ON THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE EASTERN REDUCTION APPROACH. IF MANPOWER DATA EXCHANGE TOOK PLACE, THIS COULD CONFIRM THE LOGIC OF THE WESTERN POSITION IN PRESSING FOR A COMMON CEILING IN GROUND FORCE MANPOWER. EXCHANGE OF DATA MIGHT ALSO PRODUCE OBJECTIVE EVIDENCE WHICH COULD BRING THE POSITION OF THE TWO SIDES CLOSER TOGETHER.

4. HOWEVER, IN RECENT DISCUSSION, EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE REPEATEDLY MADE THE POINT THAT THE WEST HAS PUT FORWARD ONLY THAT DATA WHICH SUBSTANTIATES THE WESTERN REDUCTION APPROACH. THE EASTERN POINT IS THAT THE WEST IS NOT INTERESTED, AS THE WEST CLAIMS, IN OBJECTIVELY ESTABLISHING THE FACTS OF THE SITUATION, BUT ONLY IN MAKING A CASE FOR ITS OWN REDUCTION APPROACH.

5. IF THE EAST WERE IN A POSITION TO MAKE THIS ACCUSATION STICK, THEN THE WEST WOULD HAVE TO RETREAT AND DROP THE WHOLE DATA ISSUE, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING. SINCE THE WESTERN PRESS HERE HAS CLOSELY FOLLOWED AND IS HIGHLY SYMPATHETIC TO THE WESTERN POSITION ON DATA EXCHANGE,

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THE OUTCOME DESCRIBED COULD COST THE WEST A GOOD DEAL OF MEDIA SUPPORT FOR ITS OVERALL APPROACH. THIS IS ALSO TRUE FOR A LARGE NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WHOM WE HAVE BRIEFED ON MBFR. MOST HAVE SHOWN KEEN INTEREST IN DATA EXCHANGE AND HAVE CRITICIZED SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES FOR THEIR RELUNCTANCE TO ENGAGE IN DATA EXCHANGE.

6. TO SUPPORT THEIR CURRENT ACCUSATION THAT THE WEST IS ONLY INTERESTED IN BOLSTERING THE CASE FOR ITS OWN

GROUND MANPOWER REDUCTION APPROACH, THE EAST MAY MOVE TO CHALLENGE THE WEST TO ENGAGE IN AN EXCHANGE OF DATA ON ARMAMENTS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS. IT NOW APPEARS LIKELY THAT THE EAST MAY MAKE THIS MOVE. ON JUNE 2, IN THE CONTEXT OF A SHORT DISCUSSION ON DATA, SOVIET REP KHLESTOV ASKED FRG REP WHETHER THE WEST WAS PREPARED TO EXCHANGE DATA ON ARMAMENTS. RAISING THIS ISSUE WITH THE WEST STILL MORE EXPLICITLY THAN KHLESTOV HAS DONE WOULD NOT REQUIRE AN IMPORTANT DEPARTURE FROM THE PRESENT EASTERN POSITION. THE EAST WOULD MERELY HAVE TO ENQUIRE WHETHER, WHEN THE TIME POINT FOR DATA EXCHANGE HAD BEEN AGREED ON, THE WEST WOULD BE WILLING TO EXCHANGE DATA ON ARMAMENTS.

7. THE WEST SHOULD NOT PERMIT THE EAST TO DISCREDIT THE ENTIRE WESTERN APPROACH TO DATA BY PLACING THE WEST IN A POSITION WHERE THE WEST REFUSES TO EXCHANGE DATA ON ARMAMENTS. THE BEST WAY TO HANDLE THE SITUATION WOULD BE FOR WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES TO SAY THAT THE WEST TOO IS WILLING TO TABLE DATA ON ARMAMENTS.

8. THE FORMULA SUGGESTED IN PARA 1 WOULD REQUIRE THE EAST BOTH TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN TABLING ARMAMENTS DATA AND TO TABLE ITS RECIPROCAL FIGURES FOR DATA ALREADY TABLED BY THE ALLIES BEFORE THE ALLIES WERE OBLIGED TO TABLE ANY ARMAMENTS DATA. IT IS MOST IMPROBABLE THAT THE EAST WOULD DO THIS.

9. IF, CONTRARY TO THIS EXPECTATION, THE EAST DOES AGREE, THEN THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS WOULD APPLY:

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TRSE-00 NSC-05 BIB-01 ERDE-00 /094 W

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P R 051450Z JUN 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1022

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0257

FROM US REP MBFR

A. THE WEST WOULD RECEIVE ADEQUATE TIME  
TO PREPARE ITS ACTUAL POSITION, SINCE DATA EXCHANGE  
WOULD NOT HAVE TO BE IMMEDIATE.

B. IT PROBABLY WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO DISCUSS MAN-  
POWER TOTALS WITH THE EAST FIRST, PRIOR TO DISCUSSION  
OF ARMAMENTS DATA. IF SO, THIS WILL BE A CHECK ON EASTERN  
BONA FIDES. THE COURSE OF THE DISCUSSION MIGHT BE  
POSITIVE ELEMENTS, OBTAINING THE NEED FOR A COMPREHENSIVE DISCUSSION  
OF DATA ON ARMAMENTS.

C. SINCE THE EAST WOULD BE REQUIRED  
TO TABLE ITS ARMAMENTS DATA FIRST, IF EASTERN DATA APPEARS  
TO BE DELIBERATELY RIGGED, THE WEST WOULD HAVE AN OPPOR-  
TUNITY TO CONTEST IT BEFORE HAVING TABLED ANY DATA OF  
ITS OWN.

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D. THE WESTERN OFFER TO TABLE DATA WOULD BE LIMITED  
TO MAJOR WEAPONS SYSTEMS AND ONLY TO TOTALS  
OF THESE SYSTEMS. THE WEST COULD RESIST POSSIBLE EASTERN  
EFFORTS TO BRING IN EVERY LAST NUT AND BOLT.

E. IF THE EAST TABLES DATA WHICH APPEARS ACCURATE,  
THIS WOULD DOCUMENT EASTERN SUPERIORITY IN A NUMBER OF  
MAJOR ARMAMENTS, ALTHOUGH NOT IN ALL, THUS GENERALLY  
BOLSTERING THE WESTERN CASE THAT THE  
ACROSS-THE-BOARD EASTERN APPROACH TO REDUCTIONS  
OF MANPOWER AND ARMAMENTS WOULD ENTAIL THE CONTRAC-  
TUALIZATION OF EASTERN SUPERIORITY NOT ONLY IN MAN-

POWER BUT ALSO IN IMPORTANT MAJOR ARMAMENTS.

F. SINCE ALL DATA EXCHANGE WOULD TAKE PLACE ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLE THAT DATA EXCHANGE WOULD NOT PREJUDICE THE REDUCTION POSITION OF EITHER SIDE, GENERAL EXCHANGE OF DATA ON ARMAMENTS WOULD NOT AFFECT THE WESTERN POSITION ON REDUCTIONS.

10. IT IS HIGHLY IMPROBABLE, IF THE WEST ANSWERED IN THE WAY SUGGESTED, THAT THE EAST WOULD ACTUALLY TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO ENTER INTO AN EXCHANGE OF DATA ON ARMAMENTS. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THE AUTHORITY OF THE WESTERN POSITION ON EXCHANGE OF DATA WOULD BE PRESERVED AND THE WEST COULD CONTINUE TO PRESS THE EAST FOR EXCHANGE OF MANPOWER DATA.

11. THE DELEGATION REQUESTS WASHINGTON AUTHORITY TO TABLE A PROPOSAL IN THE AD HOC GROUP FOR AN AD HOC GROUP REQUEST FOR COUNCIL GUIDANCE FORMULATED ALONG THE LINES ABOVE. SINCE KHLESTOV HAS ALREADY INDICATED HE WOULD CHALLENGE THE WEST TO EXCHANGE DATA ON ARMAMENTS AND THE UK REP INTENDS TO RAISE THIS ISSUE WITH NATO IN GENERAL TERMS DURING HIS REPORT ON JUNE 6, THE GROUP'S REQUEST TO NATO SHOULD BE PROMPT. RESOR

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